



THE CITS.

The Improved Capitalist Municipal Party of New York.

BRAZEN FRANKNESS.

The Upper Capitalists, Who Beat Tammany Last Time, Set up this Year Again—Their Attitude Towards Labor—Although the Workers are the Overwhelming Majority a Tiny Representation is Allowed them, and Ambulances, Hospitals and Potter's Fields are the Best Things that are Promised.

The present city of New York—the Greater New York—is not only the capitalist metropolis of the nation, it is also the condensed nation itself. What here happens in the economic and political field is a condensed edition of what either is going on in the country at large, or will be shortly going on there too. In view of this, the pending Mayoralty campaign in this city is everything but a local affair; it is a national contest. It is now casting its heavy shadows before it, and these are worth studying.

We have had three years of "Reform." The open ulcer of Tammanyism was put aside; in its place we have had the covered ulcer of the "polished" capitalists themselves in the rôle of active politicians. The revolution herein implied is one that is going on elsewhere in the country. The politician class, to whom the capitalist class has to pay blackmail for impunity in its factory and other breaches of the law against the workers, is fought by the capitalist class, which wishes to save for itself the bribe it has to pay to the politicians. In this fight the New York City capitalists were successful three years ago, and thus Tammany was supplanted.

This year the victorious class of '94 must win again lest it lose all it gained. How to go about it? The tactics it is resorting to should be noted by the whole country; everywhere else these tactics are bound soon to be seen trotted forth.

It goes without saying that without the labor vote our "washed" capitalists can accomplish nothing; this vote has to be lured into their political trap; the bait used in all such cases is that of promises to improve the condition of the workers. Upon these promises the New York "washed" capitalists won last time; since then they have been three years in power; it will not do to simply make promises this year; they have to show some of the good things they have done for the workers in this interval. That is just what they are now straining at; and to their performances on this head it is that attention deserves to be called.

The first thing that these "Citizens" Union reformers plume themselves upon with the workers is to have "given labor recognition" in the reformers' council. New York is a city with fully 85 per cent. of working people. Now mark the "recognition" that labor has received at the hands of the "reformers." To use their own language: "We have 16 labor men on our committee of 250; this is a very large representation to give the working class." Sixteen out of a total of 250, despite the overwhelming majority of the working class in the city. Even if these 16 were really representative workmen, and not a handful of picked queers like Weissmann, White, Tomblinson, Thimme, etc., the percentage of representation allowed to labor is significant; it reveals quite clearly the share that these "reformers" hold belongs to labor at the nation's political banquet.

The second feather with which the "reformers" are strutting before the workers is, if anything, still more significant. A committee of reformers is going about the workingmen's district giving stereopticon lectures. On the canvass are thrown the pictures of the blessings that "reform" has bestowed upon the workers. What may these blessings be? Higher wages? Enforcement of factory laws? No, and no again. The blessings are—"tis strange, and yet 'tis true"—"IMPROVED AMBULANCES," in which the workers, mutilated by the breaches of factory laws committed by the "reformers," can be conveyed to IMPROVED HOSPITALS, to be there practised upon by whippersnapper medical students, and from where, if these students fail to cure, the workers are conveyed to IMPROVED POTTER'S FIELDS. Verily, improved "ambulances," "hospitals" and "potter's fields" are blessings that labor should be proud of receiving! How significant is not this brazen frankness!

The "Citizens" political movement has for labor no greater solicitude than it has for the horses, cats and dogs of the capitalist pirates who run it. If horses, cats and dogs had a vote their vote would be courted with promises of laws to prevent cruelty to animals. Surely no master would think of doing anything for these beings on any theory other than that they are animals, and must remain animals. Likewise, when they consider the workers, they proceed upon no theory other than that they are there to be fleeced, ridden and used, but that, since these workingmen animals, unfortunately, still have a vote, they must be promised and given good stables and the like—but never to be thought of as human beings, the children of the Nineteenth Century, with powers, rights and capabilities equal to any other.

A SOLID LINK.

The First Socialist Section of Farmers Formed Through Hard Blows.

SOULEVILLE, Neb., June 2.—With this month begins the second year of the existence of Section Souleville. Its history is well worth this little sketch.

We have had to stand and have stood all sorts of tests, and more especially during the last six months the condition of the Section was very critical; it looked as though dissolution was unavoidable, but things improved gradually; the end of this period of transition has now been reached.

The Section has lost in size but gained in solidarity, and within the next three months we shall succeed in unloading all Socialists in name, free silver and would-be Socialists.

In order to get rid of these so-called members, it was resolved at the last meeting that the secretary notify all members over four months in arrears to pay their dues or inform the Section as to the cause of their non-payment, those not complying to be dropped from the roll.

Since there never before was a Section composed exclusively of farmers, we can regard Section Souleville as an exception to a rule, or as an important step forward towards Socialism.

We certainly can regard the Section as a link in the chain that has stood the test and upon which we can depend in the future. Although farmers, and as such compelled to participate in exploitation under the present system, our members, as clear-headed Socialists, conscious of the aims of the movement, can welcome the downfall of the present order of society.

During this year facts have here shown the correctness of the theory that the economic development tends to force men toward Socialism when all other means fail, because the members of our Section, though intelligent men, belong to the lower strata of the middle class, and are almost on the very borders of the working class or proletariat.

This is a fact that should be well kept in mind by all comrades, so that no time will be wasted in trying to preach Socialism to well-to-do farmers, as that would be throwing pearls to swine, but where the current of economic development washes the ground from under the farmer, there it is time to begin.

IN FORT WAYNE.

Recklessness of Capitalist Politicians—Greed of Baker Bosses.

FORT WAYNE, Ind., June 8.—A frightful accident threw the inhabitants of our town into consternation on the 24th of last month, and took from four already sufficiently straitened families their breadwinner and support.

A number of workmen were busy on the Lakeside laying water pipes under the superintendence of the Inspector of Waterworks. In the course of their work they dug a ditch and were just engaged in broadening and deepening the same, when one of them suddenly noticed that the land began to slide. He gave the alarm, and the men, with the exception of four, managed to run away. The others remained buried alive.

The fearful misfortune that has so heavily struck the families of the four victims is the direct result of the recklessness or unconscionable conduct of the inspector, a conduct that may truly be branded as criminal. It is incredible how any one, charged with the superintending of this work, could allow so deep and narrow a ditch to be dug on such weak ground without the precaution of shoring up the walls; such an act can have been committed only by that scourge of the Fort Wayne workers, Iten, a man with the soul of a slave driver.

There are witnesses who declare to have heard the workmen raise loud protests against going to work in the ditch, and to have pointed to the imminent danger, but this notwithstanding, they were ordered by Iten to go to work.

The question now is, Will the Coroner's inquest, submit the accident to a thorough examination, and call the guilty politicians to account?

Another event took place on that 24th of May that should be noted. On that day, upon order of their union, all the bakers in the city laid down their work because the bosses refused to pay union wages. The union scale of wages demands \$13 a week for the foreman, \$12 for the first and \$11 for the other journeymen. The union also establishes that 10 hours shall constitute a work day, and overtime shall be paid for extra. The bakers also demanded that only one apprentice shall be allowed to each shop, and that he must be discharged before others are laid off. All these demands met with strenuous opposition on the part of the bosses. Neither side would yield, and the result was the present strike.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

A WARNING

Against the Duodecimo Edition of the New Jerusalem, Known as the "Debs Plan".

Fellow Tilters:—The conditions by which we are confronted may well appall us. Starvation threatens us in the midst of the plenty which our labor has produced, but which we do not possess. Every increase of productive power serves but to heighten the sufferings of our class. With instruments of production at hand whose output might be made to satisfy every conceivable need of human wellbeing, with arms ready to work them, yet are the avenues of labor barred to us, while we halt in impotent idleness. In our desperation we are assailed with contemptible gibes, called the unfit, taunted as shiftless, lazy, drunken beggars.

We are to-day a disheveled class, in abject dependence upon that other—the capitalist class, which is in absolute and arrogant possession of our common heritage, the land and machinery, the instruments of production and distribution. Through control of these they are the masters of our very lives. The wage scrap they proffer when wanting our labor is measured by the necessities of our fellows, competing with us for a chance to exist. All that we produce is theirs. When our labor has filled their storehouses to overflowing, we are turned off to starve, while they seek new markets in which to realize on that which they have filched from us. They are mere gamblers in our products. The fruits of our labor are squandered in the vain extravagances, the sensual debaucheries with which they flout our miseries.

Such conditions cannot endure. Self-preservation demands that we gain possession of these instruments of production, that they may be freely used for the satisfaction of human needs, and not monopolized for the gratification of individual greed.

For this end is the Socialist Labor party organized. It represents in America that organized international movement which, throughout the world, stands boldly, uncompromisingly face to face with capitalism. It aims to arouse the working class to an intelligent consciousness of its rights and power; to give cohesion and strength to its efforts; to give direction to its aspirations by making clear its mission in the development of humanity.

Socialism is not a theory. Socialism is not a plan that is to be set in operation apart from or outside of the existing organization of society. Socialism is that growth, that logical development out of present conditions, which must result when through their experience and sufferings, the workers realize the cause of their subjection as a class to that class which possesses the instruments of production; when they learn to know and feel their distinct class interests; when they awaken to a sense of their overwhelming power; when they assert that power in their own interests, achieve their emancipation, and thereby end the dominance of class.

Imperfect comprehension of this fundamental distinction explains the frequency with which well-meaning persons, aroused by their sympathies to zeal for your betterment, propose elaborate schemes, "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem," which they seek to have realized experimentally as object lessons for your instruction. But progress moves of necessity within the limits of existing conditions. These plans, by the very attempt to escape conditions, deprive themselves of the vital forces which are shaping the development of society. Their failure is therefore inevitable.

But the capitalist press eagerly exploits these futile schemes, foreordained to failure. It points to them as examples of Socialism put in practice. It widely heralds their breakdown. Brands their failures as the failure of Socialism, and holds them up for the discouragement of your just aspirations.

Blind to the limitations of such efforts, untaught by the experience and failures of the past, some men to whom you have looked for leadership and guidance, distrustful of your own strength, are to-day offering you, "in the name of Socialism," another of these schemes into which society is to be made to fit.

For this reason it becomes necessary for the Socialist Labor party to emphatically repudiate all such plans, its duty to warn you earnestly of their futility, lest in your extremity you should grasp at this wisp of straw.

These people have dragged you through the wilderness of Populism into the slough of silver, and now by a mirage of false hopes they would lead you into a thorny desert of utopianism. They are seriously proposing to you a scheme of migration, for the conquest of the political machinery of one of the smaller States, whereupon a full-fledged co-operative commonwealth is to be established therein.

Be not deluded by the vain hope that the capture of some out of the way corner of capitalist government will provide an adequate haven of refuge. Capitalism and a thorough co-operative commonwealth could not exist side by side under one government. They are irreconcilable and mutually destructive. The necessities of capitalism would compel it to use the higher power of the national government, which it would still control, for the repression of your efforts within the limits of mere makeshift palliatives. See how to-day it even stoops to crush out the vestiges of the old communal life among the Indian tribes.

With its development hemmed in by the judicial and military powers of gov-

ernment—the political arm of capitalism—the new commonwealth must at the same time encounter the whole economic power of capitalism, cannot escape that fierce conflict in which today whole nations are bankrupted.

What chance would it have in such a struggle! On one side, capital thoroughly equipped with all the forces of modern production. On the other, a little community without capital, absolutely without equipment for the struggle. Who can doubt the outcome? Yet those who propose to you such grotesque and tragic folly would have you believe that they alone are practical—all others theoretical dreamers.

They would ask us to abdicate our right to the wealth we have already created, to abandon to the capitalist that perfected equipment for production which is ours by right. They would counsel us to seek success in flight, and set up our commonwealth in a corner. No wonder the capitalist looks on and laughs.

The Socialist Labor party warns you against the commission of such a folly. Keep clear of this movement, which appeals to your discontent rather than your intelligence, and can end only in disaster and discouragement. At this stage of the conflict we can afford to make no false moves.

There can be no solution which is not commensurate with the conditions. To be a success, the co-operative commonwealth must be practically self-contained, self-sufficing; and that it cannot be on less than a national scale. Such is the inter-dependence, so interwoven are all parts of the modern industrial system, so closely does the world-wide process of exchange touch every moment of our lives, that IT IS MORE PRACTICAL TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE WHOLE THAN A PART.

Out of these conditions the true co-operative commonwealth must grow. It will not abandon them. It will utilize that basis of co-operative production which is developing within capitalism itself, while at the same time changing its character through co-operative ownership of the instruments of production.

The realization of that co-operative ownership must be the goal of our efforts. The road to it is straight. There are no short cuts. Fifty years ago Marx and Engels raised the banner of international Socialism and blazed the way, proclaiming that "the FIRST STEP in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class."

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest * * * all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class."

The working class is already an overwhelming majority, and needs but the confidence to assert itself. It is the only class which is growing in strength, recruited by the disintegration of the middle class through the concentrative forces of capitalism.

Unite, then, with the Socialist Labor party, which stands boldly for your class interests at the polls. Use your ballots as weapons for the conquest of your liberties, for the assertion of that supremacy which should be yours.

Why, when you resort to such economic schemes you are little better than an unarmed mob. You are attacking capitalism on its own ground, in its strongest citadel. Capital can afford to be amused.

But when, conscious of your power, you vote the Socialist ballot, you attack it at the most vulnerable point. In the political field you meet it as an equal; as its master. Here is the natural training ground for the class-conscious organization of your forces. The growth of the Socialist vote is the measure of your progress, every increase a step towards the realization of your purpose.

The Socialist Labor party does not seek your support through false promises, or by raising vain hopes. Your emancipation must be the work of your own hands. Seek not after leaders. Let the necessities of your class be your guide, the advancement of your class your one endeavor.

Join with us in the effort to wrest from the capitalist class that possession which is the instrument of our enslavement as a class. Back of us is the proletariat of the world, organizing in the struggle against international capitalism. Their progress is our progress. In their victories we shall conquer. Socialism is the one intelligent power whose growth is the terror of capitalism. LET ITS FEARS TEACH YOU WHERE TO STRIKE.

On to the polls for your emancipation! Strike with the ballot for control of the means of life!

Vote for the Socialist Revolution!

SECTION CHICAGO, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

McKinley pictures begin to be torn down in the factories by angry workmen who last November voted for him in the confidence that he would bring about prosperity. This would seem progress, provided these same men do not turn around and vote for Bryan or Bryanism next time, whereupon they will have another picture to tear down for their pains.

McKinleyism or Bryanism both stand for lower wages.

IS LABOR A CRIPPLE?

The Labor Fakir's Reason For His Existence, Salary, Job and Drinks.

A Home Run.—Trade unions, relatively speaking, are to labor what crutches are to the legless man. The vile cur who says trade unions are no good, would rob a cripple of his means of locomotion.—Cigarmakers' Journal.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7.—The above is a clipping from a local "pure and simple" sheet which could very well father the logic and acumen of such an assinine defense of "pure and simpleism." With it, though, it is not necessary to deal; an examination of the statement or statements contained in the clipping will do.

So labor is legless! That mighty part of humanity, that according to Gompers, McKinley, McGuire, Bryan and Lennon, produces all our wealth, and is entitled to its just (?) share, the power that makes the world go round is a "cripple and needs crutches." At least we are aware of the cause of the tender solicitude and watchful care in behalf of labor displayed by the gentlemen referred to. We can now feel assured that we are not the great and mighty force we were said to be. It is not so; we are a lot of mutilated unfortunates, who need crutches. Crutches cost money; they need repairing, especially their throats—if they have such a thing—and the one who says we are not crippled, maimed and unfortunate, is a cur!!! (Please roll the "r."). It is simply awful.

All our expectations of one day achieving our salvation will now disappear in thin air. How can a cripple achieve anything without crutches? We must have them even if we lose an arm, and the man who says we are not crippled, and do not need crutches, is a cur-r-r-r. Selah, I have spoken!

If the "pure and simple" gang wished to knowingly give themselves away, they could not have made a worse break. They should see to it that the skin covering their elongated auricular organs does not get loose; to make assurance doubly sure, they should go further and put a padlock on their jaws, so that their bray do not get loose and startle the country. That last suggestion is well meant; if followed out, Mr. Lennon would not, in referring to history, speak of "way back in the periclaides of Greece," and would thereby do himself proud.

To get down to common, "practical" sense: If labor is legless, who or what has made it so? If labor is a cripple, who or what made it so? The answer comes back that labor is not a cripple, is not legless, but the labor fakir has done and is doing his best to make labor legless, and is now, and has been acting as crutches, with the emoluments of that position, to labor deluded, and now that labor is becoming sensible to use, this same labor fakir, pushed to despair at actual and prospective loss of position, knowing full well also that his former attitude of half-bully-half-sycophant unfits him for any position at sensible labor's hands, alternately wails and curses at his hard fate, while his late followers, termed by him cripples, awakening to the fact that they have legs, are using them to put as much distance between themselves, and, incidentally, their money and him as possible. The fakir, to the contrary notwithstanding the OLD trades unionism IS A FAILURE, and the one who says so is not a cur. Any form of labor organization which considers its members "legless" and "cripples" is a standing indictment of itself. Across its banner, in large letters, are the words: "This is meant to be a failure," which he who runs may read, and those who lead are filling the position or curs. To gain concessions for a body of cripples requires the ability to fawn at greatness and bully littleness. The two chief characteristics of a cur are those of cowardice and bluster. Take notice of the fawning displayed by Gompers et al., when interviewing McKinley and Reed; then see them terrifying some insignificant little business man with their bluster about their 1,000,000 members. After doing so, is it necessary to say who is the cur?

Labor is not a cripple and does not need crutches. What it needs is to know that it is the only part of humanity with "legs," and that it has only to use them to go where it should, into the co-operative commonwealth.

It has only to know that it is not alone supporting itself, but every other part of humanity, and the reason it is not free is because it has allowed itself to be kept on its knees with the greater part of its "legs" out of sight by these same gentry who are now shouting "cur." In the words of the Irish Socialist: "The great appeal great because we are on our knees; let us rise!" and when we do rise we will find ourselves not legless and crippled, but far and away superior to all others.

ARTHUR KEEP.

The paperhangers are now to be "gone for." From Theresa, N. Y., comes word that Emmett Cooper, of that town, has perfected a machine for putting paper on walls. He has been working on his invention since last October. He has a few experiments yet to make before his machine will be ready for the market. It puts on the paste, trims one or both edges from one-fourth to two inches, and cuts it the proper length. It works close to a door or window frame, but lacks the width of the trimming of getting into the corners of the rooms. It will weigh nearly five pounds without paste or paper. Mr. Cooper has long had a local reputation as an inventor. His gang cheese-presses were in use for some time. He invented a successful type-writing machine and other articles. He is an indefatigable worker, and his last invention is the result of arduous labor and industry. But let Mr. Cooper also look out. Capitalism robs both the worker of his hire and the inventor of the product of his genius.

GOING HIGHER.

A Socialist Alderman Shoots Straight at a Governor.

MAGUIRE AT WORK.

Comrade Maguire, Finding that his Work on the Board of Aldermen in Paterson is Impeded by the Malfeasance in Office of Governor Griggs Recommends that Griggs be Removed from an Offending State Committee—The Board is Startled by such Unheard-of Daring.

PATERSON, N. J., June 8.—Governor John W. Griggs was the shining mark for the sharp Socialist stiletto, which Alderman Maguire has often used with great power in puncturing platitudes and piercing rottenness. For several years the intrepid Socialist of the Eighth Ward has insisted that not only were city assessments unequal but in many instances land speculators and companies refused to pay taxes. The Socialist Alderman pointed out that by manipulation of officials, streets have been laid out, improved, curbed and guttered, and the assessments allowed to pile up against the property, awaiting compromise agreement with the city through the Martin Act Commission, or the advent of a possible purchaser. Meanwhile the city is borrowing from the banks, and the interest account increases yearly to more formidable proportions. Governor Griggs, George V. De Mott, of Clifton, and Watts Cooke, commissioners appointed by Judge Dixon, have been requested several times to send in their report and continue action on delinquent taxpayers' accounts. They have ignored any action taken by the city fathers, and rest secure in the fact that the court alone could terminate their labors. Alderman Maguire bitterly attacked their inaction and the condition of their records on more than one occasion, and the climax came last week when the Finance Committee, which is headed by Maguire, formally agreed to request the Board of Aldermen to adopt a resolution asking the Judge of the Circuit Court to depose Governor Griggs, Cooke and De Mott, and appoint a new and lively outstanding commission so that taxes might be collected.

Alderman Maguire opened by referring to the statement made by Governor Griggs in his address to business men concerning the proposed sinking fund, and recommending the appointment of men for life terms, independent of the Board of Aldermen to govern such a fund. Governor Griggs' action showed that he would stand by the big capitalists. The Governor and his commissioner had refused to act, and the aldermen and the tax receiver were powerless to act until the Martin Act Commissioners had done their duty. It appeared that the commission was appointed for an indefinite period, and was subject only to supervision of a Circuit Court Justice. The life term with dictatorial power, might sound well before "business men," but even when the "great intellect of Governor Griggs was retained to wrestle with the problem it did not seem to work in practice. The city debt was piling up because a parcel of land sharks were waxing fat upon the life blood of the municipality, while the bank presidents waxed wealthier and raked in their interest moneys into private sinking funds, while the people's burden steadily increased. The blame for this condition of affairs, said Alderman Maguire, should be placed where it belonged, and he was ready to entertain a motion demanding from Judge Dixon the removal of the commissioners, Governor Griggs included.

Maguire's bold stand created quite a sensation. With a majority of Socialists on the Board the matter would have taken more tangible form. The working class of New Jersey should promptly come to Maguire's aid and vote all the capitalist rascals out.

LOGROLLING

By Dan Harris and Boss Prince.

NEW YORK, June 9.—Cigarpackers' Union No. 251 boasts the membership of a Prince—Mr. Sam Prince, and every inch is he a Prince in the dark arts of fakirism. This precious chap has a tenement cigar factory, where he employs and skins from four to ten men. As a side occupation, Prince is a cigar-packer at Steinecke & Kerr's. Two years ago he joined Union No. 251; his object was to obtain the blue label for his own tenement goods. Secretary Dan Harris granted the label to this man, and this man grants to Harris all the aid that Harris wants to regain his lost job on the Label Committee and otherwise to do Harris' dirty work.

This instance of a tenement cigar boss being a member of a union may serve to explain several things: First, the queer evolution of the union in America; second, the secret why some "unions" are so violently hostile to the Socialists; and thirdly, how wise it is on the part of the New Trade Unionists to refuse to bow down to any and everything that labels itself union, and to fight with might and main this execrable system of "pure and simpledom," which is essentially a combine of bosses and fakirs.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068
In 1890..... 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564

Take heart! The promised hour
draws near—
I hear the downward beat of wings,
And Freedom's trumpet sounding
clear:
"Joy to the people!—woe and fear
To new-world tyrants, old world
Kings!"
Whittier.

THE PATRIA CLUB.

Our ruling class claims the right to
rule on the ground that it has superior
intellect. What this superiority
amounts to may be judged from the
utopian, rainbow chasing, horse-by-
the-tail restraining efforts they are put-
ting forth to keep the people from leap-
ing off the tracks of the present social
system. We have enumerated several
of these attempts in previous issues.
The plan of the Patria Club is the
latest that has come to our notice—nor
is it the less silly.

The Patria Club is an organization of
leading fleecers of labor, who have
grown fat under the present industrial
dispensation, who fear the fleecers are
growing restive, and who have reached
the conclusion that the best way to
prevent the dire calamity of their
having to starve if they don't work is
to train the young generation from the
kindergarten up to patriotic devotion.
In pursuit of this idiotic plan, the
Patria Club offered a prize for the best
essay outlining a kindergarten course
that is expected to clap the blinkers of
patriotism to the eyes of the young,
and keep them in the traces when
grown and full of wool for the cap-
italist clip.

The Patria Club is ignorant both in
theory and history.

It is ignorant in the theory or the
genesis of patriotism when it imagines
that the seat of patriotism lies with the
fleecers in a section of the human
anatomy other than that in which it is
located in the anatomy of the fleecers.
With the fleecers the seat of patriotism
is the stomach. Capitalism fills the
capitalist paunch, hence Capitalism is
the beloved Fatherland of the fleecers.
But the thing that fills the stomach of
the capitalist is the very thing that
empties that of the proletariat. For
the same reason that the capitalist
dotes patriotically upon capitalism, the
proletariat is bound patriotically to de-
test the thing with ever deepening de-
testation, blinkers or no blinkers.

The Patria Club is ignorant of history
when it imagines that any amount
of blinkers can keep from the head the
information imparted to it by the
promptings of the stomach. History is
full of leading illustrations. If blinkers
could do the work of full stomachs
Voltaire and Victor Hugo, both brought
up in Jesuit Colleges, would have
talked to no purpose.

Silly Patria Club!

THE IRISH "PATRIOT" IN AMERICA.

It would seem hard to pick out one
nationality of immigrants that produces
the vilest specimen of traitors to
the immigrants of its own race. And
yet hard as the job is, we do not hesi-
tate to pick out the Irish.

Without hardly any exception, the
Irish immigrant comes from the down-
trodden of Ireland. And yet from among
them are seen to rise specimens, who,
as soon almost as landed, join here,
against their own countrymen, the
very class that oppressed them at home.

Of this fact a striking proof is fur-
nished by the conduct of the Irish
papers in America. They have set
themselves up as the apostles of the
down-trodden Irish people, and yet
vain have all efforts been to induce
any of them to even publish without
comment the manifesto of the Socialist
Republican party of Ireland. These
papers know that their countrymen
here of the working class are nothing
but voting cattle for the capitalist
class, and that the British aristocracy,
which they affect to detest, is identical
with our own American capitalists—
living, to a great extent, on the sweat
of the brow of the Irish workers in
America. The manifesto of the Irish
Socialist Republican party would help
to emancipate the Irish voters here.
The Irish papers in America aim at
nothing less than that.

The conduct of these Irish traitors
goes far to prove how capitalism

sunders all bonds and points an moral
sense. The only bond of the proletariat
is the bond of their class thralldom.
Irish and American, German and
French, etc., etc., must pull together
and march over the prostrate lies of
Irish, American, German, French and
other nationalities that capitalism ex-
ploits.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," reads a
good lesson both to the fakirs who hurl
the epithet of "scab" upon the Socialist
Trade & Labor Alliance and upon the
greenies, who, being recent arrivals in
the country, and generally very little
informed on things here, know not how
promiscuously the word "scab" has
been hurled by the old trade unions at
one another, and tremulate when they
hear it uttered. The "Citizen" says:

"We fail to understand why the Troy
"Advocate" should waste so much of its
valuable space in condemning the So-
cialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The
pure and simple combat the contention
that politics should be studied in the
trades union—the position that is
also taken by the capitalists—and
therefore if the Socialists desire to with-
draw and organize upon political as
well as industrial lines, that is their
privilege. Moreover, if the latter do
organize men and women who have
been backsliders in other unions, or
even those whom the stern law of neces-
sity forced to scab, which is not gener-
ally true, it is better to have them in
than out of a union. We would like to
have some authority inform us just how
strong any national organization now
in existence would be if those who at
one time had gone wrong, or were mem-
bers of some other union or assembly,
had been debarred from membership.
"Only a few years ago the Knights of
Labor claimed exclusive jurisdiction
over the laboring people of North
America, but that did not prevent the
trades union movement from forming.
The old railway brotherhoods bitterly
fought the organization of the Ameri-
can Railway Union, and yet there never
was a grander or more popular order
formed on this earth. There are plenty
of other precedents that might be cited
to add strength to the claims of the S.
T. & L. A. for recognition if it were
necessary."

If the maxim is correct—and we
doubt not but it is—that nothing is
beautiful that is not true, then the
Cumberland, Md., "Uncle Sam," is not
beautiful, being not true, in the follow-
ing little poetic effusion:

"Tariff for revenue only," they said,
And laughed upon their sleeves in
stealth.
"Tariff for robbin' you only," it read,
"To the men who produced all the
wealth."

The prima facie beauty of these
rhymes is turned into ugliness by the
substantial economic untruth that they
suggest.

If a tariff robs, then no tariff must
leave the working class unrobbed. But
this is false. Tariff or no tariff, the
working class is robbed just the same.
The robbery perpetrated upon the
working class takes place before the
"tariff" or "no tariff" has a chance to
affect them. They are robbed in the
shop. There they are not allowed to
keep more than barely a fourth of what
they produce. And this is done in free
trade as well as tariff shops. What
robs the worker is the capitalist up-
holders—"tariffers" and "no tariffers"
alike.

But does not the tariff rob anybody?
Oh, yes; it robs those capitalists who
need free trade as the best means to rob
the workers. But what is it to us which
of the two gangs gets the lion's share of
our own hide, if both are engaged in
the work of skinning us? Let them
fight out their battles among them-
selves, while we shall fight out our own
battle by knocking out both.

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon's" head
is evidently not afflicted with jingole
cobwebs. It declares:

"You may say what you like about
the methodical Englishman, the dreamy
German, the hot-headed Frenchman,
and the calm and canny Scot, but for
pure and unadulterated imagination
our wide-awake, energetic American
certainly deserves the prize. America
is truly a land of immensities. Every-
thing is on a grand and colossal scale,
but the American powers of imagina-
tion are the grandest and most colossal
of all. To imagine oneself a freeman,
a little sovereign among a nation of
sovereigns, when in reality one is but a
miserable slave, subject to the whim
and caprice of economic despots, re-
quires powers of imagination of the
most vivid kind. Yet our pushing,
shoving, 'get-there' American is quite
equal to the occasion. None can sur-
pass him in blind worship of the mythi-
cal goddess of liberty. As a self-sacrif-
icing devotee at the shrine of the dead
and departed he stands supreme and
unexcelled."

The New York "Evening Post" is
learning, or, if that is giving it credit
for too much sense, it is becoming in-
cautious in its estimate of the motives
that animate the loafer class for whom
it speaks.

In commenting upon a speech, re-
cently delivered by the Assistant Sec-
retary of the Navy, Mr. Theodore
Roosevelt, in favor of enlarging our
armaments so as to "secure peace in
time of peace," and protect the
"nation's honor," the "Evening Post"
observes with astonishing smartness or
astonishing naïveté:

"The fact is that in time of peace,
prepare for war is a maxim which now
chiefly pleases naval contractors and
those dependent on them. They are
the only class who cannot have too

much preparation for war. Every new
battleship that goes to the bottom, or
becomes a hulk owing to her fashion
being out of date, shows how necessary
more preparation is."

Thus we have the distinct double ad-
mission from this apostle of the gold
bug wing of the pharisee-bandit class
of capitalists:

First—That the aim of their patriot-
ism consists in making money for
themselves; and

Secondly—That their morality lies in
creating opportunities for self-enrich-
ment by cheating the Government.

'Tis to be hoped that the "Evening
Post" may have some more of these out-
bursts. Possibly, they may cool some
of its ardor to shoot down the working
class and hang the Socialists. If the
patriotic capitalists, who are to furnish
the Government with the guns and the
hemp, are apt to cheat it by providing
useless goods, it may hap that the
"shoot-downées" and the "hangées" are
found equipped with better weapons.
The patriotic ardor of the most patri-
otic capitalist is sure to sink several
degrees before such thoughts.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Socialist"
shows the right comprehension of the
situation and the right spirit in this
passage:

"All the leading daily papers of the
city printed notices of our first appear-
ance last month.

"Of course they are fully cognizant of
our position and aims, and realize that
the mouse has appeared that is going
to work long and hard to gnaw to
shreds the capitalist net which has so
long bound the proletariat lion in cap-
tivity."

W. T. Johnson, in the Lincoln, Neb.,
"State Journal" says:

"The whole Populist outfit is com-
posed of men who have been unhorsed
in the competitive struggle and are now
trying to get back into the saddle so
that they, like the plutocrats, may live
by the sweat of other men's brows. The
idea of doing justice to the wage slave
and lifting him out of his present con-
dition is the thing farthest from the
thoughts of Mr. Bryan and his follow-
ers, for then these 'people's champions'
would have to quit talking and go to
work. The organizers of the gulf road
expect to reap large fortunes from the
sale of 'unearned increment' in the
shape of town sites along the line. They
are merely a lot of schemers who are
trying to take advantage of popular
dissatisfaction and popular ignorance
to make a stake for themselves. Now,
as for myself, I would rather pay tribute
to a plutocrat than to a small fry
capitalist. The Bryan outfit have made
no protest against the robbing of labor
through rent, interest and profit. They
only object to the big fellows doing all
the robbing and leaving them to starve
or go to work. Please do not mislead
your readers into supposing the 'Pop'
organization is opposed to capitalism."

If "by the whole Populist outfit" Mr.
Johnson means the element that ran the
Populist party and dictated its policy
and program, his observations are
sound to the core. Of course, many
proletarians helped to swell the ranks
of Populism, but they did not give the
tone to Populism any more than their
fellow wage slaves who are in the pro-
tection or free trade or gold camps give
the tone to any of these capitalist polit-
ical concerns. In all such cases the
proletariat is used exclusively as food
for cannon.

The public is calmly informed by the
New York "Tribune," the paper that
Greeley founded and Whitelaw Reid
confounded, that:

"The Socialistic dream is the im-
partial distribution of wealth by a
central body; but it is only a dream."

Apart from this defective presenta-
tion of the aim of Socialism, the state-
ment is interesting in so far as between
its lines may be read this view:

"We, capitalists, hold that misery is
inevitable; that the working class must
stay down; that the capitalist must
stay up. It might be very beautiful if
this were not; but all attempts to
change this is a vain dream. The cap-
italist system, together with all that it
implies, is eternal."

Indeed, this is the opinion of our
ruling class, to whatever subdivision—
gold, silver, protection, free trade, or
"reform"—they may belong. Those who
act with them help to uphold their
views. Between all of these and the
Socialist movement the line is drawn
sharp. Socialism denies both the pre-
mises and the conclusions of capitalism;
it has demonstrated both to be scientifi-
cally false; it has battered to pieces the
arguments of capitalism; and it is
marching victoriously towards the day
when, upon the shattered ruins of
"eternal" capitalism it will build a com-
monwealth where capitalist tenets will
be hung in museums alongside of the
"eternal" thumbscrew and other such
"eternal" monstrosities, to be gazed
upon as relics of barbarism.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor
of political economy of the University
of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to
all organizations of wage-workers in
the United States, no matter of what
character, to send him copies of all the
literature published by them, such as
official organs, labor day journals,
statutes, leaflets, agitation material,
handbills, posters, etc. All such pack-
ages will be received free by express
companies. Such matter should be ad-
dressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, librar-
ian, State Historical Library, Madison,
Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Social-
ism and Social Reform," "French and
German Socialism," also many treatises
bearing on economic subjects.

CAPITAL.

Its Definition, Its History, Its Scope.

The term "capital" has been a sub-
ject of interminable discussion in the
countless treatises on political economy.
Are free gifts of nature capital? Is a
navigable river part of the "national"
capital? And is the knowledge which
a railroad president is not even sup-
posed to possess, personal capital? These
are some of the profound questions
proposed for solution. The
economists of the Austrian school, with
their unrivalled facility in word-spin-
ning, have enormously added to the im-
mense volume of cobwebs already ex-
isting. But strange as it may seem,
confusion as to the meaning of the
term and as to the essence of the thing
"capital" prevails not only among the
bourgeois and their professed spokes-
men, but even among those who ought
to know better. I therefore welcomed
the article of A. P. Hazell, reprinted in
THE PEOPLE of last May 30. But with
all respect for this excellent writer, I
regret to state that he has not, to my
mind, set the matter in as clear a light
as it might be done, as it was done by
Marx.

Capital is not a material, natural
thing, but an historical, social product.
So, too, are money and commodities,
but neither money nor commodities are
capital. They can exist logically with-
out becoming capital, and they have
appeared historically before capital.
But both commodities and money be-
come capital when they stand, through
their owners, in certain social relations,
when they go through a certain move-
ment or circuit.

Historically, the circulation of cap-
ital grows out of the circulation of com-
modities.

When the social division of labor is
sufficiently advanced, so that men pro-
duce mainly or entirely not for their
own use but for the use of others, then
men are said to produce commodities,
and their society is a commodity-pro-
ducing society. The commodities thus
produced must necessarily go through
a certain movement or circuit. Pro-
ducer A, a shoemaker, must sell his
product to B, and with the money thus
obtained he buys linen from C. The
product of A has thus gone through the
movement: shoes—money—linen; or:
commodity—money—commodity. We
begin and end with a commodity, and
commodities of like value. The end and
aim of the transaction is a useful ob-
ject, a use-value. The shoes were of no
use to the shoemaker, but the linen is.
This movement is characteristic of
commodities, and is therefore called the
circulation of commodities. It existed
before capital.

But out of this movement there de-
veloped (How? does not now concern
us) another and contradictory move-
ment, in which A appears on the market
—not with commodities, but with
money, in which he comes not as a
seller but as a buyer. With his money
he buys a commodity in order to sell it
again. This movement is represented
by the formula: money—commodity—
money. It begins and ends with money;
and since it begins and ends with qual-
itatively like things, there can be but
one motive in the transaction: the in-
crease of money, the recovering of more
value than was given. The formula is
therefore: money—commodity—more
money. This form of circulation is the
circulation peculiar to capital.

We thus see that capital is neither
money nor commodities. At one time
it is money, at another commodities. It
is value changing its form and increas-
ing during the transformation. When
money and commodities have gone
through this characteristic movement
they are—capital. We must, however,
bear in mind that capital first appears
on the market in the shape of money.

We have assumed throughout that
there is no cheating done, that value is
exchanged for value, equivalent for
equivalent. Whence, then, does the in-
crease of value come? It can arise only
in one way. The owner of money buys
in the market a peculiar commodity, a
commodity that is itself the source of
all value. He buys the laborer's labor-
power at its value, the cost of its pro-
duction. He pays the laborer money
wherewith to buy food, clothing and
shelter. But the laborer can by his
labor produce more value than the
value of his wages. The surplus-value,
or the value produced by the laborer
after he has reproduced his wages, goes
to the capitalist. Rent, profit, interest,
taxes, etc., are all paid out of the sur-
plus-values produced by the laboring
people.

We have thus far treated capital only
qualitatively. We have learned to
know its nature, its peculiar character-
istics. But how large must a sum of
money be in order to be able to go
through the circuit: money—commodity—
more money, in order to functionate
as capital? Obviously, it is different in
different industries. In coal mining
one must have more money than in the
clothing industry. But it also differs in
different epochs. At any time a definite
minimum amount of money is neces-
sary in order to circulate as capital.
This minimum amount is greater to-
day than it was thirty years ago, and
is constantly increasing. It is this ten-
dency of the minimum to increase that
is ruining the small producer, that is
driving him down into the ranks of the
proletariat. Hence his vain howling
against aggregations of capital.

We are now in a position to inquire
into a few special cases. The big shop-
keeper is a capitalist like the big man-
ufacturer. But the small shopkeeper,
like the small manufacturer, is not a
capitalist in the strict sense of the term.
In modern society he is out of place, an
anachronism, a survival of the age of
small production. Doomed to extinc-
tion, the sooner he disappears the
better it will be for himself and for so-
ciety. At present he is a victim of the
big capitalists, and yet he serves them
as a weapon against the proletariat.
Even State Comptroller Roberts knows
this, and therefore he pleads the cause
of the middle-class and proposes the in-
heritance tax nostrum to stave off the
day of its total collapse.

On the other hand, the shareholder
in a corporation is a capitalist in the
strictest sense of the word. To be sure,
he neither buys labor nor sells com-
modities. What does it matter? There
are those who do these things for him.
The same is true of the banker or
money lender. If they had no capital,
and if there were no "free" laborers in

the market, there would be no surplus-
value, no dividends, and no interest.
Why should they be called money-
stealers? Is not interest as "legitimate"
a gain as profit? And were not both in-
terest and profit condemned by Church
and State and society in the Middle
Ages? Having undergone the same
history, and originating in the same
source—surplus labor—they must be
classed alike, birds of a feather.

H. SIMPSON.

New York.

The capers that the New York Jew-
ish "Anarchists" are cutting are too
funny to keep them from our outside
readers. These youngsters have de-
cided to take a hand in the decision of
who shall represent the national party
at the next national convention of the
S. T. & L. A., that is to be held in
Boston next July 5. We have three ex-
cellent candidates; Robert Bandlow, of
Cleveland; Arthur Keep, of Washing-
ton, D. C.; and Thomas C. Brophy, of
Boston. For none of these can our
Jewish Anarchists have any love; each
is an outspoken anti-fakir, anti-Glas-
gow plan man, and a veritable "rough
on 'reform'"—all of which things sit
ill on the Anarchist stomach. Never-
theless these worthies have centered
their bile on Comrade Brophy, and,
with amusing childishness, are calling
upon the party membership through
the columns of a paper of theirs, the
Jewish Anarchist "Forward," to
"PURIFY THE PARTY" by voting
down Brophy. Why is this thus?

First—Brophy is the party's candi-
date for Governor in Massachusetts this
year;

Second—Brophy is the man who in
Massachusetts crushed the cockatrice
of Anarchy in the shell two years ago.

There is a third reason, to wit, that a
feature of the Jewish Anarchist is to
think the world of himself; his head is
swollen; he believes he is everybody
and everybody else besides, and that he
is an absolute majority.

Proceeding from these premises, they
conclude that everybody will do as
they want, and, second, that by as-
saulting Brophy they can hit two flies
with one clap, to wit, injure the party
by defaming one of its political candi-
dates, and satisfy with their vaporings
their rage for the blow he inflicted upon
them.

No wonder these Jewish Anarchists
are lovers of the "pure and simpliers,"
they take the cake for pure simplicity.

THE RED BESIDE THE GREEN.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by T. A. HICKEY.)

AIR: "The Wearing of the Green."

Arrah, Paddy dear, now did ye hear
The news that's goin' round?
Socialism at last is planted
Upon dear old Erin's ground.
In the most distressful country.
That ever yet was seen;
They have thrown the red flag to the
breeze
Beside our darlin' green.

Refrain—

Beside our darlin' green,
Beside our darlin' green,
They have thrown the red flag to the
breeze,
Beside our darlin' green.

I met with Jimmie Connolly,
And I took him by the hand;
Said I, "How is the movement
An' how does it stand?"
Said he, "At the custom house
Five thousand men are seen
Gazing with love-ly eyes upon
The red beside the green."

Refrain—

On the red beside the green,
On the red beside the green,
Five thousand men are gazing
On the red beside the green.

When the laws shall be made by the
workin' class,
Then freedom shall be ours;
Then we shall see prosperity
In beauteous golden showers.
Then let us work for that glorious day
When our freedom shall be seen;
When the red flag floats o'er our Parlia-
ment
Beside our darlin' green.

LETTER BOX.

Cfhand Answers to Inquirers.

A. N. Millstone.—You can get full par-
ticulars from Jos. Palme, 58 Washburn
street, New Bedford, Mass.

A. J. D. Philadelphia, Pa.—That is an
open question.

A. Moren, N. Y.—The resolution of
the 24th A. D. was not resolved be-
cause at least twenty-three other com-
munications from individual members
were waiting publication. To print
them all would have taken up too much
space. As the call was for a general
vote, the individual communications
were entitled to the preference. The
opinions of organizations, in such cases,
are of no account. In most other cases,
the opinion of an organization is bind-
ing upon the minority, and the mem-
bers who were not present. In this case,
however, it could not; each individual
member could vote as he chose, and, if
absent when the decision was reached,
would not be bound in his action by it.

Moreover, organizations should not
in such cases give their views, because
it would be equivalent to allowing their
members a chance to have two says in
the paper: once, by printing the resolu-
tion, and a second time by printing the
letters of its individual members. As it
was, at least one member of your A. D.
was heard in these columns. If the
resolution of your A. D. had also been
published, this member would have
had two says at the expense of others
who had no say whatever.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Do you know I
find great fault with the intolerance of
the Socialists?

Uncle Sam—Do you know I am getting
quite tired to hear that silly statement?
B. J.—'Tis not silly. To give you an
illustration. See how the Socialists
treat the Populist movement—

U. S.—Do they blackguard it?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—Are the facts they quote
against it false?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—Are their arguments against it
mistaken?

B. J.—No. All that is all right. But
for all that the Socialists don't need to
jump upon it as they do. They should
realize that the Populist movement has
created a pile of discontent, and with-
out discontent Socialists could not find
hearers and could not make propa-
ganda.

U. S.—You are tangling up a truth
and an untruth. It is true that discon-
tent is a prerequisite to make people
ready to hear and accessible to Social-
ism; it is untrue that populism creates
discontent.

B. J.—Why, man—

U. S.—Never mind what you were
going to say. See here. Talk, agita-
tion, thrilling denunciation, fervid
speeches—none of these can "create"
discontent. Discontent is created by
physical want and the mental trials
that physical want breeds. These things
are the creature of the development of
capital. Every new machine, every
concentration of productive forces pro-
duces, increases physical want and
mental distress; they throw more wage
slaves out of work and endanger all
the more the jobs of those who remain
at work; they render the chances of the
small concerns to compete successfully
slimmer and slimmer; they make the
livelihood of increasing numbers an
ever harder thing to gain; they, ac-
cordingly, by turning the screws down
upon increasing numbers of people,
wipe away false hopes that "some-
thing will turn up," and render the
masses discontented. This is the effect
of the material workings of capitalism;
words won't create discontent. The
merit of creating discontent that you
attribute to Populism does not belong
to it; that merit belongs to capitalism.
Give the devil his due: 'Tis capitalism
that renders the people accessible to
the teachings of Socialism by making
them more and more discontented.

B. J.—Very well; I grant that; it is
the material conditions that must create
discontent. But would you deny that
the right kind of talk can intensify the
discontent?

U. S.—Most assuredly, I deny that.
The man who is starving, and needs to
be talked to before he becomes dis-
contented is worthless. The man who
is going down hill and is not discon-
tented, you can never reach, even if
you were to talk yourself black in the
face.

B. J.—Well, granted that, too; and yet
I maintain that Populism has helped
greatly to set the pot boiling; and I am
ready to give it credit for that.

U. S.—In the first place, you will
notice that you insist upon your views
notwithstanding you admit that your
premises are knocked from under you—
an evidence of bad reasoning.

In the second place, granted that Popu-
lism did help to set the pot boiling by
intensifying discontent, do you know
who alone can profit by such action?

B. J.—Well?

U. S.—The charlatans; the discon-
tented masses themselves are only ren-
dered all the easier preys for the char-
latans. Make a man discontented and
abstain from teaching him the right
cause of his troubles and the right way
out of them, and what you have done
is to make him soft as putty in the
hands of the first charlatan who comes
around.

Say you have made a man discon-
tented and did no more. Along comes a
single taxer with his backnumber
nostrum; will your discontented man
know enough to see through the fallacy
of single taxism? No. He may be
taken, boots and shoots, and off he
flies. Or along comes a free trader, or
a 16 to 1 coinager or an anti-mono-
polist, or an anti-Tammanite, or a
Glasgow-planner. What would happen?
Your man is ready made material for
any of them. We have had altogether
too much discontent in this country,
and, as it is untrained discontent, the
result has been that it has degenerated
into hopelessness and apathy. Just
compare the condition of things upon
that head here and in Europe. Here
there is nothing more common than to
hear a poor devil of a fellow exclaim:
"Tis no use trying! Why, those whom
he met or who 'helped to make him
discontented,' either left him there, or
worse yet, stuffed him with some ridi-
culous economic notion. The result is
that he tried, failed and gave up. No,
my good boy, we don't need, we don't
want any more discontent. The na-
tional pot is running over with dis-
content. What we now need is solid
Socialist teachings. These the Popu-
list movement has not given; just the
reverse. Its economics were so absurd
that deep and broad streams of discon-
tent to run right into the maws of the
rapacious combination of silver mine
barons and bankrupt farmers who want
to become big exploiting farmers them-
selves. No, Socialists are not intoler-
ant, except in the sense that science is
intolerant.

VIEWED BY A SOCIALIST.

An Address delivered by G. B. Leonard before the Minneapolis Section of the Socialist Labor Party, on April 12, 1897.

I presume most of you have seen the art gallery in the public library building. Those of you who did could not miss noticing a large picture of a strike.

You see afar factories with high smokestacks; men with coarse hands and tired faces pouring out in great numbers. Silent and untold histories of misery are hidden behind the rude cast of features of their countenances. They all rush to the office of the employer. There he comes out and tries to still the passions of the growing crowd. He probably tells them that they have no grievances; that he cannot possibly afford to raise their wages, or to shorten their hours of labor, or right other wrongs. He asks them to go back. The strikers have their spokesman. He argues and lays the case before the employer. In the middle of the crowd there is a woman trying to persuade her husband not to mix up in the affair.

Why this excitement of the crowd? Why this persuasion of the woman? The artist did not fail to answer as well as he could.

Near the entrance to the office, just around the corner, stands a pale and ragged woman. Suffering and uncertainty of what is going to come tomorrow is indelibly impressed on her features. Maybe the landlord will tell them to remove; maybe the grocer will stop their credit. She is motionless. An imploring and at the same time scornful look of condemnation is in her eyes, which are turned upon the "bread-giver." On her right arm she keeps a thin, feeble, slender, puny little child, who clings its arms around her mother's bare neck. At her feet stands a small girl in short and tattered clothes. She is five or six years old, maybe older than that. Her face has a livid hue. She knows the pangs of hunger. Sickness has not failed to leave its marks upon her feeble constitution. She looks helpless and frightened. Here you see the workingwoman when a suckling baby, when a child, and when a mother. You see or guess the homes of those on strike.

The cause of the excitement is not to be found in the agitated crowd that is before you. You must go outside of it. You must go to their homes; you must go, perhaps, still further.

In spite of some quite important defects, in the picture, the artist shows that he was more than a painter, who simply conveys on the canvas what strikes his eye. He conveys his thoughts and reasons for the colors he has put on the canvas. In introducing these three figures the artist attempts to give the CONTENTS of his painting. But to understand it fully you must go behind all colors and figures that are before you.

The method of the Socialist with regard to things around him and events that make up our histories is that of the artist I have just mentioned. The surface of things and events does not explain them. To understand them you must go to their CONTENTS. You must find the reasons and causes of all the institutions of the past and present, the reason for the change of ideas, beliefs, sentiments, passions, moral and religious conceptions, legal axioms and political institutions.

It is natural to expect that what strikes the eye most should attract our attention and impress our mind most forcibly. It is for this reason that our histories are filled with lengthy accounts of battles, court intrigues, deeds of great generals, kings and priests rather than with a description of the life of our ancestors and the reasons for the changes that have taken place in the mode of living. And if reasons are some times given, they usually fail to explain. The peculiar characteristics of some race, the tenacious individuality of our devouring fanaticism of another; differences of moral standards and religious; eloquence of orators, politicians and statesmen; the writings of great men; triumph of right over wrong, of justice over injustice; the ascendancy of eternal truth, of the spirit of liberty and progress—these are a few examples of the reasons frequently assigned for historical events and for great changes in society.

"One event is always the son of another, and we must never forget the parentage," was a remark made by a Bechuana chief to Cassalis, the African missionary. A Greek philosopher said that all things flow. Shakespeare remarks: "Nothing is but what is not." All three express the same idea, but each succeeding one more clearly than the other. There is nothing in nature that is at a standstill. Every atom of nature moves. Everything in nature is every moment different from what it was a moment before. With every breath we draw we change the substance of our body. You may be surprised if I tell you that your noses do not contain exactly the same elements that they contained just one moment ago, and that in less than five years your noses will be gone. There will not be a single atom in them five years hence that make up their substance at this moment. It is this constant change and motion of matter in our body that makes us breathe, drink and eat; that makes us live and grow, and brings us death.

Society, the system of social relations, is also never at a standstill, and the changes that take place in society have a regularity of development and laws of evolution like everything else in nature.

What are, then, the laws of social evolution? It is in this that the modern Socialist differs from the rest of the world. Not ideas, morals, legal compulsion, increased perception of eternal truth and absolute right and justice, love of freedom, have been the causes of great changes of the past. The social, political and intellectual conditions of each epoch and their continual transformation are to be explained by the forms of production and their changes. Or, as stated by Engels: "Pro-

duction, and next to production, the exchange of its products, is the ground-work of every social order; and in every social system that has arisen historically, the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions into classes and orders, depends upon that which is produced, and also upon the manner in which the articles produced are exchanged."

There was a time when man wandered in hordes through the thick woods, living on the roots and fruits of trees. There was no family, there was no property, no system of social organization. Men and women lived in promiscuity like other animals. Gradually the laws of natural selection asserted themselves in the fact that a social organization, based on the differences of sex, is established. Brothers and sisters are no more to intermarry. The clan, or, as otherwise known, the GENS, appears. This form of organization is found yet among the savage tribes. It existed among all ancient nations, and traces of them have been impressed on almost every institution of modern times. The members of the clan cannot intermarry. The women are considered as the wives of the male members of the other clans within the same tribe. The husbands are simply guests to the clan. The children belong to the clan of their mother, and through her they trace their parentage. "All property is held in common. The fish that is caught, the game that is killed, is the property of the whole clan. No savage starves as long as there is any food in the clan."

With the growth of population the number of these clans grows, and a tribe is formed. The relations within the tribe are similar to those within the clan. All members of the tribe are called brothers. The individuality of each is lost or merged in that of the clan or tribe. When the savage marries, it is his clan that marries; when he has caught some fish, it is the clan that owns it. Land is held in common alongside of other things. In most of the cases the whole clan lives in one house. Where the art of agriculture is known, common granaries keep a supply of grain for a year or two ahead, as a provision in case of dearth. It belongs to the whole clan. Courage, bravery, a kind feeling to each other, a readiness to help and even sacrifice life for each other are characteristics having force of obligation. The savage says: "All who belong to my tribe are my brothers—all others are my enemies." This explains the continuous warfare among the savage tribes. In Judea, Greece and Rome all strangers were enemies. The Latin word "hostis" means both stranger and enemy. We will see later, how this exclusiveness, which the narrow notion of kinship implies, issues in race and class feuds, that are destined finally to break up the tribal organization of antiquity.

The population was scattered in all directions, wherever means of subsistence could easily be procured, usually alongside of rivers, where fish supplied the necessary wants. The place occupied by the tribe was more thickly settled. There is very little division of labor. The only division there was based on the differences of sex, man tending to hunting and fishing, woman to household affairs and to the raising of children. In Asia, where there were animals that could be domesticated, and thus furnish new materials of subsistence, like milk, wool and meat, the first great social division took place, that of tribes who devoted their time to raising flocks, nomadic tribes. This tended to increase the means of subsistence beyond the immediate needs of the tribe, and exchange of products commenced until it became a regular institution. The main article exchanged was cattle, which became such a universal commodity among the Aryan and Semitic tribes that all other things began to be measured in cattle. The Latin word "pecunia," which means money, is derived from the word "pecus," which means small cattle. As a result of all this, in course of time grew up a class of merchants and money lenders.

Agriculture is introduced soon afterwards, and the productive powers of man reach a degree that he can produce more than is necessary to sustain him. Captives are no more devoured, or killed, and left to birds of prey, or adopted into the tribe, but are turned into slaves. The surplus above the means of subsistence of the slave goes to the slaveholder.

Cannibalism must have been quite regular among our ancestors, when the means of life were so scanty and uncertain that they had to resort to human flesh for food. Only in the long course of evolution, when the methods of gaining a livelihood have gradually improved to such a degree that man could produce enough to sustain himself, cannibalism dies out. Only then could Christian preachers and promulgators of ethical culture expect to get a hearing.

Originally the flocks as well as the slaves are held as the common property of the tribe or larger social group, but with the increase of wealth there is a tendency to make it individual property. How this process of conversion of common flocks into private property of single families took place it is hardly possible to trace. But one thing is certain, that extensive flock-raising and agriculture have helped greatly the breaking up of the old tribal relations.

Woman becomes less and less important in social production and man gets the upper hand. Our modern form of marriage, monogamy, thus rises simultaneously with private property.

A great revolution takes place at this stage with the discovery of the art of smelting iron. Mechanical industry is separated from agriculture. Slaves become more numerous, and are driven to fields, mines and whatever little shops could be established. Exchange of commodities becomes a rule. It is carried on not only between different tribes

but between the individual members of the tribe. Rich and poor within the same tribe appear.

What was at this time the political organization of society? There was as yet none, in our sense of the word. The social relations of men to each other were based on their real or supposed kinship. Each man and woman belonged to a clan, tracing their descent from one common ancestor, real or supposed, who was its god-protector. A few clans made up the tribe. They had certain duties towards each other which were regulated by custom and not by written law. An injury to one member was an injury to the whole clan, and the clan and tribe of the injured had the obligation to avenge the wrong committed. There is a chief in each clan, elected by both men and women. In some a woman is elected to chieftainship. The chiefs of the clans make up the council of the tribe, and with a general assembly of all the members of the tribe transact tribal affairs. Such is the political organization among the Indians; such it is among the savages in other places; and such, in general, it was among our ancestors. (See "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan). Here and there tribes confederate for mutual advantages, tribes of the same stock, related to each other.

With the increase of wealth there is a tendency in the tribe to settle. The neighboring tribes make regular invasions for plundering purposes. It is no longer revenge or defense of territory that is the cause of war. Gain of unearned wealth is the stimulus, which has remained to this day as the mainspring of all modern wars. The use of rum, opium and the Bible, as means of territorial extension and successful conquest of backward countries was not as yet known to ancient nations. This is a discovery of more recent date and by more civilized people than the ancients.

Piracy becomes not only an act which is to be excused or condoned, but is commended. The Greek god Hermes, the god of commerce (and Greek commerce was mostly on the sea), was also the god-protector of the pirates, and later of all kinds of thieves. Homer praises Ulysses' grandfather, "who outdid all men in thieving and skill of swearing." In Rome, wealth gained through war was the most honorable.

With the rise of private property in personal chattels, private property in land begins to develop. A coalescence of several tribes takes place around a hill or near the sea, and a city is established. The steady concentration of wealth gradually breaks up the clans and tribes, which slowly lose their social functions as the disintegration goes on. The members of the tribe, because of the institution of commerce, frequently change their place of residence and migrate to other cities, where they are considered aliens and denied the privilege of citizenship. Their number tends steadily to grow. Society is no longer composed of a homogeneous element. A differentiation into orders and classes appears. With the growth of all these various classes, a new political organization of society is needed, an organization based not on kinship but on territory and property. It becomes a pressing exigency of the moment. The growing opposition of interests between the rich and poor, slaveholders and slaves, landed or money aristocracy and the poorer artisans and peasantry, the patricians and plebeians, the richer and poorer plebeians—in one word, the violent antagonism of classes which springs up in society with the rise and expansion of private property, demands the existence of a power which shall take care that the clashing of these conflicting interests be kept within the limits of "law and order." Such a power is the political state, which we see rising in full bloom in old Athens and Rome, in the Sixth and Seventh Century B.C. and glimpses of which can be seen also in Judea. But since the birth of this power takes place only as a result of the rise of private property, and in the midst of a struggle of classes already existing, the State necessarily becomes an instrument of oppression of the weaker class by the stronger. It becomes the state of the slaveholder, money and landed aristocracy in olden Judea, Rome and Greece, and of the capitalist class in modern times.

Though the forms of exploitation have changed, and though the forms of government have changed with them, the essence of government has remained at all times the same: to be an instrument of exploitation and oppression of an economically weaker class by the economically stronger, in the name of "private property," as long as that private property is the wealth created by one class but belongs to the other.

The notion that government is something standing above all class antagonisms, an organ independent of society, is erroneous and misleading. It is false in the light of history and recent events. And the Anarchist who imagines that all wrongs and evils issue from the government and finds salvation in its immediate abolition, sees things upside down. You cannot abolish class oppression by abolishing the government, but the modern government machinery, with its oppression, will die out of itself with the abolition of classes. It will peter out, after having performed its last and most useful function at the hands of the victorious class of the proletariat, that of utterly erasing all class distinctions from the heart and bosom of society.

In ethics, the civic virtue of ancient morality and the religious sentiments, conceptions and rites, whose object was the welfare of the social unit, whether clan, tribe, city or nation, were gradually being undermined by the new conception of the welfare of the individual per se. Devotion to society, in which the individual as such is merged, is superseded by ideas of personal sin and holiness, by notions of a higher and happier existence for the individual or his soul in the after life. Man commences to distinguish himself from the surrounding nature and his social environments. He questions and analyses them. Philosophy springs up. In the variety of its first systems it mirrors the struggle for supremacy between primitive communism and private property. The new principle of individualism gradually asserts itself and gets the upper hand in the "Know Thyself," of Socrates. The deadly cup of poison he is made to drink for his too revolution-

ary words at a time when tribal traditions are still strong in the social and religious life of the Athenians, cannot, however, extinguish the breath of individualist teachings. In vain do his followers attempt to bring about a reconciliation of the two contending principles. Plato's "Republic" does not arouse much enthusiasm, and his own pupils subject it to severe criticism. The deification of natural objects and of ancestors, as protectors of a social group, is being given up in the measure as private property intrudes, until Greek mythology finally loses all halo of sanctity and is put through a burlesque panorama in the comical "Dialogues" of Lucianus. The way for Christianity was paved.

Slavery was an institution of all nations at a certain stage of their economic development. I cannot now go into the reasons why slavery among ancients had to disappear. I shall try to explain it when we come down to slavery in this country. For the present suffice it to say that slave labor ceases to pay at a certain stage of development of the methods and powers of production. Feudalism takes its place. It is to be found among all European nations in the Middle Ages, in Russia until not so long ago, in Japan even now. It is based on the exploitation of serfs, who are attached to the soil from which they cannot remove. The serf either works a number of days in the week for his lord, or pays to him in kind a certain quantity of his yearly produce, or an amount of money instead, in the later stages of feudalism. All land is supposed to belong to one man, the king, the biggest lord, who gets his right of dominion from God, who is a bigger Lord than himself. Then follows a small class of lords, who hold their land from the king, and under each of them there is a host of vassals. At the bottom of the scale is the serf, who has to feed them all. Industry is carried on at home, because the tools are simple. Those who devote their time to handicraft from towns, and a system of guilds is established, regulating the number of apprentices, the kind of work and amount of product. Commerce and manufacture are very limited at first, but stimulated by continental discoveries and inventions, they commence to grow. The restrictions of the feudal system become too narrow. A struggle between the towns and lords ensues, which ends in the final abolition of feudal privileges and restrictions. On the ruins of feudalism rises capitalism. The serf becomes a freeman. "Absolute monarchy is superseded by representative government."

In religion, the Catholic ideal of the Christian Church as a divine kingdom on earth, gives place to the notion of religion as a personal affair, unquestioning acceptance of dogmatic formulas to severe religious criticism and religious freedom, superstitious belief to scientific analysis. Stripped of its speculative advantages, Protestantism was still more acceptable to the profit-grinding propensities of the rising capitalist class because of the lesser number of holidays it allowed to its followers.

Viewed in its economic, political, intellectual and religious aspects, the great French Revolution marks the final triumph of the capitalist class.

Let us now cast a glance at the history of "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

For thousands of years this continent was inhabited by savage tribes, which were slowly marching towards civilization. With the discovery of America the European merchants began to make expeditions to this continent in order to enrich themselves. America was supposed to contain unbounded quantities of gold. Hence the Dutch and English, who in the Seventeenth Century became strong commercial nations, did not fail to make settlements in North America. It was thought that the capitalist system, with its refined methods of exploitation, could be transplanted into the new world. Hundreds of workmen were sent to these shores to create profits for their employers. But the attempts to establish the wage system were doomed to failure for a time. The workman, once on this side of the ocean, was on the other side of the fence. He did not give a snap, so to say, for a job, as long as land was free or could be procured for a small sum. Here and there colonies grew up. A system of small production was put into operation. Most of the materials for clothing were grown upon the farms. The colonists did the breaking and hoeing of the flax, while their wives and daughters did the carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing. Hired labor was scarce.

When most of the land, however, near the shore was taken up, there settled down in the eastern parts with every arrival of a new load of immigrants a portion of it, which could not be washed away further West, and which, having no means of subsistence, had to depend upon the selling of its labor power. Not a few, who were brought over from England, had to work out their passage money after arriving. Children, some only seven years of age, were sent over to serve as apprentices until they became of age, when a suit of clothing was given them for their services. The majority of the people, however, were farmers, themselves tilling their lands, and only here and there employing help. There were also independent artisans, and a steadily growing class of merchants and manufacturers.

Slavery was introduced quite early. In the Northern and Middle colonies it was sporadic and continued only to domestic service, slave labor in other lines being unprofitable. In the Southern colonies slavery was general. There the slaveholders, mostly descendants of English gentry, were engaged in the raising of rice, tobacco and the sugar cane, which they shipped to England. The English Crown and Parliament, both controlled by the capitalist class of England, imposed innumerable restrictions upon the merchants and manufacturers of the colonies. No goods could be imported from any country or even from a neighboring colony unless it first went to England. The erection of mills and iron works was nearly wholly forbidden. Later, when with the growth of cotton raising and wool production, there was a serious apprehension on the part of the English capitalists that the colonies might become dangerous competitors in textile products, the

English Parliament prohibited the exportation from England of any weaving machines, and imposed a big fine upon the violators of the law. Numerous other restrictions were put upon American trade and manufacture, which sooner or later were to burst asunder. Gradually the colonists became a nation of lawbreakers. It is said that nine-tenths of the colonial merchants were smugglers. Fully one-third of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were "bred to commerce, to the command of ships and contraband trade." The ostentatious John Hancock, who owned more wealth than any other individual in New England, and whose vessels, filled with West Indian molasses, came regularly to the New England shore, whence shortly after they set sail replenished with barrels of rum, to infuse into other colonies and foreign nations the spirit of their maker, this grandfather of American snobbery and cockneyism, whose indignation against British tyranny and whose devotion to American independence were in direct ratio with the curtailment of the profits on his cargoes of rum and molasses, which the Navigation Acts might have been the cause of, was the prince of smugglers.

"This country," says C. D. Wright, "had the natural position which would enable it to develop the textile industry, for here, as well as in England, existed the germ of the textile factory in the fulling and carding mills, which had been erected at convenient localities in nearly all the colonies; and cotton could be raised in the Southern States, and thus be utilized as nearly at first hands as possible, certainly with an advantage over European competition; for Western Europe was obliged to secure its cotton from India. TO SECURE THE FACTORY SYSTEM THERE MUST BE THE MACHINERY WHICH ENGLAND WAS USING, AND TO GET THIS REQUIRED EFFORTS AND STRUGGLES, WHICH BROUGHT OUT THE PATRIOTISM OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF THE TIME." The middle and close of the last century was an epoch of a great series of inventions which were destined to revolutionize the industry of the world. Jay's fly shuttle, Paul's carding machine, Arkwright's water-frame, and throtle, Crompton's mule-jenny, Watt's steam engine, Cartwright's power loom and other contrivances were rapidly being introduced and undermining hand processes of labor in England. The reign of the Almighty Dollar was to commence. And when the Declaration of Independence announced that all men are born equal, it overlooked or excluded the negro slave. When it declared the right of every man to liberty, it meant no more and no less than the liberty of every owner of property to dispose of it and use it to his best advantage; it meant the freedom of exchange of commodities, which was also the underlying import of the outcry for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity during the great French Revolution. But though in its essence the French Revolution was a Bourgeois affair, it, however, bore a tinge of enthusiasm, which was full of inspiration for high ideals of life, and sincere devotion to the abstract principles of liberty and humanity, which soon shook the foundations of all European society. The American Revolution was more of a naked business matter, a question of dollars and cents, almost without ideal, and less affected by higher motives or aspirations. It was a revolt of a growing class of merchants and manufacturers against the powerful capitalist class of England. The intellectual upheaval of which Tom Paine is such a splendid representative, was short lived, and soon drowned in the all conquering sound of the dollar.

But such a freedom in its natural course of evolution must lead to large capitalist production. A society where to satisfy one's wants a sale must be made for these or other necessities of life, has in itself the germ of capitalism. There appears on the market a commodity which has the magic power of creating more than it costs to produce it. This is the labor power of a human being, of a free wage-worker. He sells it for a certain amount of money, which competition reduces to the average necessities of life required to produce it, to so much food, clothing and shelter, which are absolutely necessary to recuperate his lost powers on the next morning, and reproduce a new generation of wage-workers after this one is gone to rest in the world above or below. All above this goes to the employing class, and is called surplus value. If, to produce these necessities of life it requires three hours of labor, and the wage-worker has put in ten hours, the product of seven hours of labor goes to the owners of the tools and machinery, to the capitalist class. Part of this surplus value, of this unpaid labor, is consumed by the capitalists and the host of parasites that follow and surround them, the rest is reinvested. The establishment is enlarged, and more men are employed, and the surplus value of the capitalist increases, or an improved machine is introduced, and a number of the employees are thrown out of work. The wages of those at work can easily be reduced, and thus the surplus value of the capitalist grows again. By thus reinvesting the surplus value stolen from the wage working class, the capitalist is enabled to create still more surplus value. It is by this process that "his" capital creates capital.

To beat his competitor on the market, the merchant or manufacturer must be able to undersell him. To do this, his goods must be produced at a lesser expense. This is accomplished by producing them in large quantities and through continual introduction of labor saving machinery. Thus the average capital required to successfully compete on the market becomes larger and larger. The small shopkeeper, artisan or tradesman must give in before the onward march of capitalism. They are thrown overboard in this fierce struggle and help to swell the ranks of the wage-working class, the proletariat. Concentration of wealth becomes an absolute condition for the survival in the struggle on the market. All barriers that stand in the way are mercilessly broken, all attempts to resist it prove fruitless. Such, in general, is the tendency of an economic system based on production for sale.

At the time of the American Revolution

the population was confined to the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic coast. It was less than three millions. To trace out distinctly the different economic classes of the time is hardly possible. There were nearly half a million slaves. They were the valuable property of the Southern planters. There were big landowners, some owning even as many as five million acres, as Lord Fairfax, for example. The widow whom the haughty and priggish Cossack of the American Revolution had wooed and won with the stately assiduity of a general, was an owner of very large tracts of land, besides having a paltry sum of \$45,000. This vain "soldier and statesman," whose mutiny quelling abilities had won him the utmost confidence of the aristocratic elements, and made him a fit candidate for the Presidency of the new republic, was himself an extensive tobacco planter and owner of a large number of slaves. The working class comprised probably less than ten per cent. of the total population, and had already more or less distinctly separated itself from the other classes. There was a slumbering dissatisfaction among them, but yet they exercised an insignificant influence in colonial affairs. This class, however, furnishes the breasts for the reception of bullets of the English troops during the Revolutionary War. The remainder of the city population was made up of merchants, independent handicraftsmen and smaller or larger manufacturers. The bulk of the country inhabitants in the Middle and Northern States consisted of a class of farmers overtaxed and in debt over head and heels. The financial burdens of the Revolutionary War fell most heavily on this class, and increased their discontent, which soon took the shape of a strong movement against the ascending power of the capitalists. Partial successes are attained. Rhode Island's Legislature falls in the hands of these "traitors." The movement culminates in Shay's Rebellion (1786), which also absorbs the discontented elements among the working class. It collapses. The supremacy of the capitalist class, which the Revolution has assured, is thus first attested.

The convention that framed the constitution was a lot of shopkeepers, merchants, landowners and slaveholders, few having regard for the welfare of the propertyless. It was held behind closed doors. Propositions to have the suffrage restricted to freeholders were discussed at length, and had it not been for the comparatively small number of the propertyless and the insignificant influence they could exercise at that time in national affairs, if allowed to vote, the proposition would have been grafted upon the Constitution. The fear that this class, which made up nearly the whole of the army, might offer a vigorous protest, was a strong argument against such a provision. A Proposition was also submitted that no one should be eligible to the Presidency unless worth \$100,000, and to Congress unless \$25,000. It shared the same fate as the other, and for the same reasons. Slavery was sanctioned. Futility were the strenuous appeals of the naive abolitionists, when rice had become a rich and abundant crop in California, and when the molasses-rum-slave-traffic was paying a profit of more than 100 per cent. The apparent zeal of Maryland and Virginia in the Federal Convention against the slave trade, as an "infernal traffic," was far from having a humanitarian motive. These States, as was broadly hinted, suffered from a plethora in the then slave market, and were anxious to dispose of the surplus at a high price to Georgia and South Carolina, who needed them more. (See Madison Papers, Vols. II. and III.)

Why this consolidation of the separate colonies into one union? Oh, it was the patriotism of our ancestors that dictated such a course, we are told. But why this patriotism, and what was its mainspring? The development of commerce and capitalist industry conjured it up. Each State was too feeble to depend on itself in commerce and production, especially in trade upon the sea, where England's competition stood greatly in the way. Hence, all restrictions of trade between the separate States were to be entirely abolished. Discriminations, bad blood, jealousy and the continual feuds between them, gave way in view of the Almighty Dollar to a strong sentiment of union, political exclusiveness to a united government and puritan intolerance to freedom of religion and religious hypocrisy. The field for capitalist industry in the North was open. Smaller or larger factories begin to crop up, creeds and churches to multiply, Christian bigotry to flourish.

(To be concluded.)

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.
THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.
The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year.
The Syracuse Socialist.—
The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.
The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.
The Socialist Alliance, 73 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.
Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.
Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year.

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Arbejderen, 6832 Marshall avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

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Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

ITALIAN.
Il Proletario, 1221 Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. \$1 per year.

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Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. \$1 per year.

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Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive Committee.

Session held June 2nd with Comrade Moore in the chair. The financial report for the week ending May 29th shows receipts to the amount of \$18.01; expenditures \$35.47; deficit \$21.46. Comrade Furman is absent and excused. The matter of publishing the Municipal Programme in leaflet form is then taken up and the secretary instructed to take the necessary steps. A committee from the French Branch Section New York calls on account of the subscription lists that have been issued for the French Socialist paper that is to be published. Sections having any of these lists will please return them with the amounts collected.

The secretary reports as to the negotiations with the Proletariat, looking to the translation of the party's constitution into Italian.

Charters were granted to Sections No. 1 and 2 in Shamokin, Pa.

At the session held June 8th, Comrade Stahl was elected to the chair. The financial report for the week ending June 5th shows receipts to have been \$107.10; expenditures \$59.00; balance \$18.10.

A translation of the constitution in Jewish is ordered printed.

The general vote on the proposition relative to the Jewish press is reported closed, the result being 1527 votes in favor and 538 against, which makes these papers official organs of the S. L. P. under party control. It is resolved to so notify the Publishing Association. It is also resolved to issue a call to the Jewish Comrades in connection with this matter. Section Fredericksburg, Va., reports the expulsion of William Wild for having voted for the capitalist parties at the last election.

Charters are granted to Section Jersey City (Amalgamated) and a French Section in Pittsburgh, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Sec. Sec.

Result of the General Vote on the Proposition of the National Executive Committee to place the Jewish Papers, "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiterzeitung" under the control of the Party as Official Party Organs.

Section.	For.	Against.
Phoenix, Ariz.	11	1
Los Angeles, Cal.	14	2
Oakland, Cal.	1	6
Sacramento, Cal.	6	6
Bridgport, Conn.	13	1
Hartford, Conn.	15	11
Danbury, Conn., No. 1.	5	5
New Britain, Conn.	8	5
New Haven, Conn., No. 1.	22	2
New Haven, Conn., No. 2.	3	11
Rosville, Conn., No. 1.	13	1
South Norwalk, Conn.	15	5
Waterbury, Conn.	20	12
Washington, D. C.	12	6
Belleville, Ill.	72	6
Chicago, Ill.	72	6
East St. Louis, Ill.	10	5
New Albany, Ind.	5	5
Indianapolis, Ind.	17	1
Louisville, Ky., No. 1.	14	1
Louisville, Ky., No. 2.	8	1
Baltimore, Md.	23	26
Boston, Mass., No. 1.	14	1
Boston, Mass., No. 2.	25	5
Boston, Mass., No. 3.	1	28
Holyoke, Mass., No. 1.	15	5
Holyoke, Mass., No. 2.	1	5
Lynn, Mass.	12	5
Haverhill, Mass., No. 2.	1	8
Lawrence, Mass., No. 1.	33	1
Somerville, Mass.	6	6
Springfield, Mass.	13	5
Detroit, Mich.	10	5
Minneapolis, Minn.	21	1
St. Paul, Minn.	17	1
St. Louis, Mo.	37	1
Elizabeth, N. J., No. 2.	7	1
Hoboken, N. J., No. 1.	11	1
Hoboken, N. J., No. 2.	1	9
West Hoboken, N. J.	2	10
Newark, N. J.	23	16
Paterson, N. J.	18	8
Union Hill, N. J.	1	8
Buffalo, N. Y.	48	1
Oneida, N. Y.	11	1
New Rochelle, N. Y.	7	1
Utica, N. Y., No. 1.	14	1
Glendale, N. Y.	13	1
Wyckoff Heights, N. Y.	12	1
Rochester, N. Y.	23	6
Yonkers, N. Y.	13	2
Troy, N. Y.	14	1
Newburgh, N. Y.	9	1
Albany, N. Y.	11	1
Woodhaven, N. Y., No. 1.	9	1
Long Island City, N. Y.	14	1
City of New York.	421	308
Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 2.	7	1
Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 3.	7	1
Canton, Ohio	13	1
Cleveland, Ohio	75	1
Altoona, Pa.	12	1
Allentown, Pa.	10	1
Patton, Pa.	6	1
Philadelphia, Pa.	77	26
Pittsburgh, Pa., No. 1.	20	1
Pittsburgh, Pa., No. 2.	25	1
Figart, Pa.	9	1
Providence, R. I.	54	1
Westerly, R. I.	7	1
Richmond, Va.	8	1
Milwaukee, Wis.	32	1
Total	1,527	538

Total vote cast.....2,065
HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

Massachusetts.

WORCESTER, Mass., June 5.—At our business meeting held June 1st it was voted to expel Thomas P. Abbott from the Section for grossly immoral conduct, and that notice of the same be forwarded to THE PEOPLE for insertion.

JOHN WILLIAM YOUNG, Secy., Worcester Sec., S. L. P.

Illinois.

Financial Report of the Illinois State Committee for May, 1897.

RECEIPTS.

Section Chicago, 200 due stamps \$20 00
Cash from April 28..... 30 67

EXPENSES.

200 due cards..... 80
3,000 leaflets..... \$4 50
200 due stamps..... 10 00
Postage stamps..... 1 00

Total..... \$36 30

STAMPS.

On hand April 28..... 227
Sold..... 209

On hand June 1..... 27

L. KANSELBAUM,
Financial Secy., Chicago, Ill.

New York.

New York City (Greater New York).—To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.:

Comrades—The above organizations are requested to supply themselves with the new applicants' cards, which entitles applicants to temporary admission to the organization to which they have been applied, until their names have been acted upon by the General Committee at the regular monthly meeting. These cards can be secured from the organizer, at 61 East 4th street, N. Y., top floor, at any time during the day.

Propositions for membership in the party should also be brought to the same address, and from there will be delivered to the Executive Committee, which meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at 184 William street.

L. ABELSON, Organizer,
Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Philadelphia, Attention!

PHILADELPHIA, June 7, 1897.—Section Philadelphia will have a meeting to-night, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum. Every member should have his card with him.

Socialist Labor Party Convention

The ninth convention of the Socialist Labor party of New Jersey was held at the Turf Hall, on High street, Elizabeth, on May 30, 1897.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by George P. Herrschaft, of the State Committee. Carl Pankopf, of Hudson, was elected chairman pro tem. George P. Herrschaft was elected secretary pro tem.

Committee on Credentials.—Comrades Bleasby, of Hudson; Magnet, of Essex; Duff, of Passaic; Toff, of Middlesex; and Mills, of Union.

A recess of fifteen minutes was declared to enable the committee to prepare their report.

After recess, the committee reported 20 delegates and 2 alternates present. The credentials of Comrades Maguire and Schmidt were recognized by a vote of the convention.

Permanent Organization.

The convention then permanently organized by electing Comrade Carl Pankopf chairman and George P. Herrschaft secretary.

The following committees were then elected:

Committee on Agitation and Organization.—Duff, of Passaic; Walker, of Essex; and Campbell, of Hudson.

Committee on Resolutions.—Maguire, of Passaic; McGarry, of Union; Toff, of Middlesex.

Committee on Ways and Means.—Dammann, of Union; Ufert, of Hudson; Schmidt, of Bergen.

Committee on Press and Literature.—Campbell, of Hudson; Maguire, of Passaic; and Pankopf, of Hudson.

Auditing Committee.—Magnet, of Essex; Bleasby, of Hudson; and Emory, of Passaic.

Secretary's Report.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

RECEIPTS:

Essex County, dues..... \$144 00
Union County, dues..... 70 00
Passaic County, dues..... 150 00
Bergen County, dues..... 5 80
Camden County, dues..... 2 00
Middlesex County, dues..... 11 50
Mercer County, dues..... 20 00
Hudson County, dues..... 11 55
Members at large, dues..... 6 60
Contribution..... 67 72
Emblems..... 42 65

Feb. 22, 1896—Balance on hand \$33 31
Total..... \$837 53

EXPENSES:

To Nat. Ex. Com., for dues..... \$355 00
To delegates of State Com..... 41 58
For agitation..... 169 22
Emblem buttons..... 49 00
Books, paintings, stationery..... 47 85
Express and postage..... 34 42

Total..... \$688 07
May 15, 1897—Balance..... 149 46

STAMPS:

Essex County..... 1,640

Union County..... 755

Passaic County..... 1,525

Bergen County..... 83

Camden County..... 20

Middlesex County..... 168

Camden County..... 290

Mercer County..... 174

Hudson County..... 2,561

Members at large..... 57

Total..... 7,186

MAX RICHTER, Secy.
MATTHEW MAGUIRE, Treas.

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

Reports of Counties.

Bergen County delegate not present.

Delegate Schmidt, of Section Carlstadt, reported progress in Bergen County, which had nominated a full

ticket in the fall elections; were about to organize a Section at Ridgefield Park.

Essex reported great progress of and renewed interest in the movement; have opened permanent headquarters, and are having a good healthy growth; also have a ladies' organization, a good working Scandinavian branch, an Italian branch of 46 members; German, Hebrew and Slavish branches doing good work; were also to organize a Roumanian branch; held 45 open air meetings during the last fall campaign, where they had held their own.

At the spring elections they had (owing to the doubt caused by the changes in the election laws) no challengers appointed; could therefore not report as to the result.

Hudson reports having made considerable changes in local organization, all the Sections of Jersey City having surrendered their charters and applied for one charter for the city Section, composed of ward branches, the seventh, eleventh and thirteenth wards being already organized; the others to follow.

Hoboken has organized an American branch, which has 14 active members at present.

Jersey City had suffered with Newark at the spring elections. Hoboken had gone into the municipal election. Hudson had bravely weathered the storm in the fall elections and was proud of the distinction it had then won, that of having polled a greater vote for the electoral than for the Assembly ticket, the vote having stood 1,140 for the electoral to 1,120 for the Assembly.

Middlesex reported that the Section there was in a bad way, having dwindled to 4 active members, who, however, managed to scrape up enough to pay the campaign expenses.

Passaic reported having continuous agitation; had also established permanent headquarters; had nearly succeeded in electing an alderman in the 7th Ward of Paterson; had active organizations in Manchester, Passaic and other places; also had a German and a Hollander Club, which were doing good work. The Ladies' Club had raised \$150 for a banner, which they were about to present to Section Paterson.

They were also about to organize a branch of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The Eighth Ward Branch invited the delegates to attend their picnic on the 31st. The invitation was accepted.

Union County reported through its secretary that the movement was progressing slowly but steadily; have formed an organization for the purpose of founding a Labor Lyceum.

Elizabeth Sections doing well.

Plainfield Section in a bad way. Delegate James, of Plainfield, here presented his credentials and was seated. He reported that the Comrades in Plainfield were simply apathetic, and appealed to the convention for speakers so as to waken them up from their lethargy; that Plainfield is a good field for our agitation, but badly needed lectures and mass meetings.

A recess of one and a half hours was now declared.

Meeting called to order by the chairman at 3:15.

Reports of Committees.

The Committee on Agitation and Organization reported as follows:

First—Your committee desire to recommend a thorough and compact organization in each county on ward lines where possible and representation in County Committees from each ward so as to thoroughly cover said counties, which was adopted.

Second—No speaker should be permitted to lecture or speak at any party meeting unless he is a member of the party in good standing, which was adopted.

Third—That while political campaigns should be waged with all the powers at command, above this stands the most vital point, viz., the recruiting and training of new members into the ranks of the Socialist Labor party. Adopted.

Fourth—No man shall be nominated for any office whatsoever unless a member of the party in good standing. Adopted.

Fifth—We recommend that one meeting shall be held quarterly in Essex, Hudson, Passaic and Union Counties, the expense of which be mutually borne by the State and County Committees. After considerable debate this was referred to the State Committee.

Sixth—We recommend that no papers be circulated at party meetings or endorsed except such as are under the control of the party, as we deem it unwise to support the enemy in any way. Adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, Evidence of an impending industrial and political crash are accumulating on every hand, it is therefore the duty of militant Socialists to unite in solid organization;

RESOLVED, That speakers for out of town meetings be under the supervision of the Secretary of the State Committee; and that branches and speakers correspond direct with secretary. Notice of proposed meetings to be posted two weeks previous to their being held;

RESOLVED, That speakers show their cards of membership to said secretary;

RESOLVED, That we indorse the stand taken by the party papers in exposing labor fakirs of every description.

On motion, the report was adopted. The Committee on Ways and Means Report adopted.

The Committee on Press and Literature reported that their conclusions had been covered by the report of the Committee on Resolutions and Agitation and Organization.

The Auditing Committee reported having made a thorough examination of the books and vouchers of the financial secretary, and had found the same correct.

It was resolved that the report be

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 9th, 1897.

\$4,535.

M. V. Halla, Albany, N. Y., \$10 payable on demand.
Martha Moore Avery, Boston, Mass., 10 Cash.

Total this week.....\$ 20

The following amounts have been paid down to June 9th, incl.:
Previously acknowledged.....\$1110 90
F. Koehndorfer, Albany, N. Y., \$10; Edw. McLeod, City, \$2; M. B. City, \$1; John G. man, Cleveland, Ohio, \$8; Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, Boston, Mass., \$10..... 31 00

Total.....\$1141 90

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE,
184 William St., N. Y.

printed in the report of the proceedings of this convention in the Paterson "People" at an expense not to exceed \$7.

The representatives of New Jersey to the "Daily People" Committee reported that there were two separate funds to which subscriptions were invited—one a list for small sums, which now amounted to over \$1,000, and the other a minimum subscription of \$10, which now amounted to upwards of \$5,000. That at least \$50,000 were needed to place the "Daily People" on a self-supporting basis. The committee laid stress on the fact that the "Daily People" when published would be entirely under the control of the party, and not, as has been said, under control of one or another publishing association.

It was resolved that the report be received and the committee continued.

Next Convention.

It was resolved that the Secretary of the State Committee issue a call for the referendum vote as to the time and place for holding the convention of 1898.

Vote of Thank.

A vote of thanks was tendered the Elizabeth Comrades for the generous reception of the delegates.

After listening to short addresses by Comrades Maguire, Campbell, Herrschaft, and a neat speech by the chairman thanking the convention for their harmony and attention, the convention, after having accepted an invitation to attend a commens after adjournment from Section Elizabeth, the convention adjourned sine die.

GEORGE P. HERRSCHAFT, Sec.

* Secretary of Convention failed to send in the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate T. Retzlaff, of the United Upholsters Union, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) and delegate G. Mielehausen, of the Eccentric Engineers No. 3, was vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the Bohemian Butchers' Union No. 1 and a new union, the Bohemian Prog. Typographical Union of New York. The delegates were admitted.

The Organization Committee reported having visited the Bartenders' Union No. 1 last Friday, but that the meeting had been held earlier. The union resolved to send a committee to the German Waiters' Union No. 1 and protest against statements made by their delegate B. Korn. The German Waiters' Union No. 1 disclaimed any responsibility for Korn's utterances not having instructed him, and resolved to support the Bartenders' Union No. 1 to the best of their ability. The report was received and the said union instructed to hold its meetings regularly hereafter.

The special committee which investigated the grievances against the Ind. Bohemian Bakers' Union reported, and the whole matter was referred to the Gen. Ex. B. S. T. & L. A.

Ind. Bakers' Branch No. 1 reported that the joint meeting of all the branches held on May 22, elected a member of Branch No. 6 as delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention at Boston.

They initiated 7 new members and withdrew the label from Boss Kemple, 20 avenue, bet. 88th and 89th street, because he refused to sign the contract.

It was resolved to elect delegates Retzlaff, Finkenstedt, Amadi and Bohm as a committee to visit the next meeting of the joint branches and inform them that the elected delegate can only represent Branch No. 6 at the Convention as no organization is permitted representation by proxy, and that therefore all other branches would be minus representation.

Bohemian Bakers' Union complained that the Independent Bakers' Branches refused to grant them labels. The delegates of other branches explained that this union must first join the Local Executive Board before labels are given.

Eccentric Engineers No. 3 elected a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention, and initiated one member.

United Upholsters' Union will hold an important meeting on June 16th, at 64 E. Fourth street.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 initiated 3 new members and 3 were proposed.

Carl Salm Club elected A. Hellmann as a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention.

Furriers' Union will hold a special meeting on June 12th, at 385 Bowery.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 reported having initiated 4 new members and 4 were proposed. They decided to agitate in future for new members and defend and protect the interests of the C. L. F. and S. T. & L. A. A delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention will be elected at the next meeting.

United Journeymen Tailors' Union reported that a firm had proposed some sort of a bill which had been referred to the shop meeting for action.

Bohemian Prog. Typographical Union resolved unanimously to join the N. Y. C. L. F. and S. T. & L. A., having recognized the fact that only through these bodies can the workmen be emancipated.

Empire City Lodge Machinists report-

ed having elected Ed. McCormack as delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention.

The discussion of instructions to the C. L. F. delegates to the S. T. & L. A. Convention was then continued.

The organizations are again requested to pay the \$10 fare money for its delegate no later than Sunday, June 13th, 1897, to A. Waldinger, Financial Secretary, so as to enable the Committee of the G. E. B. to engage all berths for July 4th, 1897.

Prog. Clothing Cutters & Trimmers.

The regular session of the above union was held Thursday in 64 East Fourth street.

Communications were received from the "Volkszeitung" and the United Hebrew Trades; the Secretary was instructed to answer the first, and a committee was appointed to get further information from the above central body was the action on the second.

The report of delegate to D. A. 19 was accepted.

Instructions were given to the delegate to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. further instructions will be given next week.

At the next session, Thursday, June 10th, the first nomination of officers will take place and all members should attend.